

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8027
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION USNATO
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER
ZEN AMCONSUL BARCELONA POUCH
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 MADRID 01376

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC; USCINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 12065: GDS 01/26/85 (CALDWELL, RAY) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, SP
SUBJECT: THE SPANISH ELECTIONS: ACTORS AND ISSUES;
CD FORESEES GAINS, HOPES FOR COALITION WITH UCD

REF: 78 MADRID 5141

1. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: THE RECASTING OF THE
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MAJOR CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION PARTY, FRAGA'S POPULAR
ALLIANCE (AP), INTO THE FRAGA/AREILZA/OSORIO-LED
DEMOCRATIC COALITION(CD) IS ONE OF THE TWO MOST
SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE ELECTORAL PANORAMA SINCE
JUNE 1977 (THE OTHER IS THE ABSORPTION OF THE
SOCIALIST PSP BY THE PSOE, WHICH WILL BE ADDRESSED
IN SEPTTEL). THE CD LEADERSHIP, BANKING ON A

RIGHTWARD SHIFT IN THE SPANISH ELECTORATE SINCE JUNE 1977 AND WORKING TO AVOID THE ERRORS THAT COST FRAGA SO DEARLY IN THAT FIRST ELECTION, HOPES TO COME OUT OF THE MARCH 1 CONTEST IN A POSITION TO FORCE A CENTER-RIGHT GOVERNING COALITION WITH UCD.

2. THE THREE BASIC ELEMENTS OF CD'S STRATEGY ARE:

--- A CENTER-RIGHT ELECTORAL PROGRAM SIMILAR TO UCD'S, WHICH CD HOPES WILL FACILITATE A FUTURE COALITION WHILE PERMITTING IT TO TAKE THE POSITION THAT UCD, SUFFERING FROM ITS OWN INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS AND WEAKENED BY 18 DIFFICULT MONTHS IN OFFICE, CANNOT GOVERN COHERENTLY, FIRMLY AND EFFECTIVELY WITHOUT THE BACKBONE CD PARTICIPATION WOULD PROVIDE.

--- A FORWARD-LOOKING, NON-CONFRONTATIONAL CAMPAIGN THAT WILL EFFECTIVELY ERASE AP'S IMAGE AS A PURVEYOR OF UPDATED FRANCOISM AND PERMIT CD TO GAIN VOTES AT UCD'S EXPENSE WHILE NOT BURNING ANY BRIDGES TO THE GOVERNING PARTY.

--- ACHIEVEMENT OF A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF CONGRESS SEATS (AT LEAST 25, THEY HOPE, AND PERHAPS AS MANY AS 35-40) TO MAKE A UCD-CD COALITION SUAREZ' CONFIDENTIAL

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MOST ATTRACTIVE GOVERNING ALTERNATIVE.

3. CD HAS STARTED WELL AND ITS OPTIMISM IS UNDERSTANDABLE. IT SHOULD BE ABLE TO CAPITALIZE ON CONCERN OVER TERRORISM AND LAW AND ORDER, CONSERVATIVE DISAGREEMENT WITH MORE "PROGRESSIVE" ASPECTS OF UCD'S PROGRAM -- SUCH AS SOME FEATURES OF THE FISCAL REFORM -- AND THE FEELING IN SOME CONSERVATIVE CIRCLES THAT SUAREZ HAS BEEN MORE ATTENTIVE TO THE LEFT THAN TO HIS OWN NATURAL CONSTITUENCY. UNCERTAINTIES AROUND AT THIS JUNCTURE, HOWEVER, AND MUCH WILL DEPEND ON HOW THE CAMPAIGN UNFOLDS, THE ERRORS THE PARTIES COMMIT OR AVOID UNTIL MARCH 1, AND CIRCUMSTANCES BEYOND THEIR CONTROL, LIKE TERRORISM.

4. CD HAS THE SPECIAL PROBLEM OF EXPANDING THE FRONTIERS OF THE CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION'S ELECTORAL CONSTITUENCY, WHICH AP'S 1977 CAMPAIGN DID SO MUCH TO CONSTRICT. BUT NO MATTER HOW MUCH CD NUANCES ITS CAMPAIGN AND FRAGA'S PARTICIPATION IN IT, THE AP CHIEF, SPAIN'S MOST VOLATILE AND CONTROVERSIAL

MAJOR POLITICAL FIGURE, IS THE COALITION'S
DOMINANT PERSONALITY AND PREMIER FORCE OF VOTER
ATTRACTION/AVOIDANCE. AS A RESULT, THE OUTCOME COULD
HINGE IN THE END ON A QUESTION WHICH IS AT LEAST
AS VISCERAL AS IT IS POLITICAL: HOW MANY MODERATE
SPANIARDS HAVE CHANGED THEIR MINDS ABOUT FRAGA DURING
THE PAST 18 MONTHS, AND NOW CONSIDER HIM PART OF
THE SOLUTION RATHER THAN PART OF THE PROBLEM. END
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

5. IN CONTRAST TO THE COMMUNISTS (MADRID 1295),
THE LEADERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC COALITION (CD) SOUGHT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 MADRID 01376

THESE ELECTIONS, ALTHOUGH THEY WANTED MORE TIME TO
PREPARE. FRAGA, AREILZA AND OSORIO HAVE LONG HELD
THAT SUAREZ HAS "PURSUED CENTER-LEFT POLICIES WITH
CENTER-RIGHT VOTES", AND THAT THIS REFUSAL OF THE

GOVT TO DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF ITS CONSTITUENCY,
COMBINED WITH SUAREZ' ALLEGED FAILURE TO GOVERN
WITH SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY, SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED
THE ELECTORAL PROSPECTS OF A MODERNIZED CONSERVATIVE
OPTION. FRAGA ALSO REALIZED THAT AP'S NUMERICAL
WEAKNESS (16 OF 350 CONGRESS SEATS) MEANT IT
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USUALLY WAS LITTLE MORE THAN A MARGINAL PARLIAMENTARY
ACTOR, AND THAT THE UNRECONSTRUCTED FRANCOIST
CAST OF AP'S 1977 CAMPAIGN AND RESULTING CONGRESS
REPRESENTATION MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO PULL UCD RIGHT-
WARD INTO EFFECTIVE COLLABORATION. AP'S VERY NATURE
MADE A POLITICAL IMPERATIVE OF WHAT OTHERWISE
MIGHT HAVE BEEN A REVERSIBLE TACTICAL DECISION BY
SUAREZ TO KEEP FRAGA ON HIS RIGHT AND IN OPPOSITION.
A NEW ELECTION, HOWEVER, IF APPROACHED CORRECTLY
BY A REVAMPED AP (CD), HELD OUT THE PROSPECT OF
SUFFICIENT GAINS AT UCD'S EXPENSE TO PULL UCD INTO
COALITION AND BRING THIS "NEW RIGHT" INTO GOVT
AND THEREBY TO CENTER STAGE.

6. FRAGA, IMPLICITLY ACKNOWLEDGING THE SERIOUS
MISTAKES OF HIS 1977 CAMPAIGN AND THE INSUPERABLE
LIMITATIONS OF AP AS ORIGINALLY CONSTITUTED, HAS
WORKED GRADUALLY OVER THE PAST 18 MONTHS TO OVERHAUL
AP AND STRENGTHEN ITS ELECTORAL APPEAL TO THE CENTER/
CENTER-RIGHT. HE QUICKLY DISCARDED THE BACKWARD.
LOOKING RHETORIC OF AP'S 1977 ELECTORAL EFFORT,
ATTEMPTED TO CONTROL HIS TEMPER AND TONGUE (WITH ONLY
MIXED RESULTS), WAS ONE OF THE SEVEN DRAFTERS
OF SPAIN'S NEW MODERATE CONSTITUTION, AND EITHER
MADE IT EASY FOR HIS MORE CONSERVATIVE AP COLLEAGUES
TO ABANDON SHIP OR GAVE THEM A NUDGE OVERBOARD AT
THE PROPR MOMENT. OF THE "MAGNIFICENT 7" FORMER
FRANCO MINISTERS WHO FOUNDED AP, THOMAS DE CARRANZA WAS
JETTISONED EARLY ON, MARTINEZ ESTERUELAS WAS THE
CASUALTY OF HIS 1977 ELECTORAL DEFEAT IN TERUEL, AND
LICINIO DE LA FUENTE, THOUGH A PARLIAMENTARIAN, GRADUALLY
DRIFTED INTO OBSCURITY. SILVA MUNOZ AND FERNANDEZ DE LA
MORA COOPERATED BY EFFECTIVELY THROWING IN THE TOWEL WHEN
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THEY VOTED AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION, AND MOST RECENTLY
LAUREANO LOPEZ RODO WAS EASED OUT WHEN THE CD LEADERR
SHIP REFUSED TO LET HIM REPEAT AS THE NUMBER ONE

CANDIDATE IN BARCELONA. (ONLY MARTINEZ ESTERUELAS
WAS REINTEGRATED AT THE LAST MOMENT, WHEN HE WAS
PLACED AT THE HEAD OF CD'S VALENCIA LIST.)

7. AT THE SAME TIME THA,** *. 'A*, \$*

****A*A*, \$*****/(****X**\$

A*&**

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*A**)******(2A**& *'****'A.*(****

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A**A*&*\$***X**

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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ZEN AMCONSUL SEVILLE POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 MADRID 01376

OF LIBERALS, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS
AND INDEPENDENTS, BROUGHT SOME OBSERVERS TO LABEL
IT DISPARAGINGLY "UCD'S CLONE." BUT THE UNPREDICTABLE
LASUEN RESTORED CD'S ORIGINAL UNDILUTED CONSERVATIVE
HUE WHEN HE BOLTED SHORTLY BEFORE FILING TIME.
REPORTEDLY AREILZA, FRAGA AND OSORIO WOULD NOT AGREE

TO HIS INSISTENCE THAT HE RUN WITH CD BUT THEN BE
ALLOWED TO FREELANCE AS AN INDEPENDENT SOCIAL
DEMOCRAT ONCE IN PARLIAMENT (PRECISELY THE REASON
FOR LASUEN'S EARLIER EXPULSION FROM THE GOVERNING
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PARTY).

9. NO SOONER WAS CD FORMED THAN ITS LEADERS MADE THE
MODEST BUT REALISTIC CLAIM THAT THEIR COALITION,
THOUGH A COMPETITOR FOR UCD'S VOTES, WAS A POTENTIAL
COALITION PARTNER FOR UCD, NOT AN INDEPENDENT
GOVERNING ALTERNATIVE OF ITS OWN. THEY THEN SET TO
WORK THROWING LINES OUT TO SUAREZ IN AN ATTEMPT
TO FASHION SOME KIND OF PRE-ELECTIONS UNDERSTANDING
WHICH WOULD EMBODY, IF NOT JOINT LISTS, AT LEAST
A NON-AGGRESSION PACT TO MINIMIZE THE DIVISION OF
THE CONSERVATIVE VOTE BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS. (THIS
GAMBIT ALSO WAS MOTIVATED BY CD'S FEAR THAT WHEN
THE VOTES WERE IN IT MIGHT NOT, ON ITS OWN, HAVE
GARNERED ENOUGH SEATS TO INFLUENCE EVENTS.) THEY
HOPED SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD GUARANTEE IN
ADVANCE A POST-ELECTION UCD-CD COALITION. BUT THESE
OVERTURES PREDICTABLY WERE REJECTED BY SUAREZ, WHO
PREFERRED TO TAKE HIS CHANCES WITH A DIVIDED
CONSERVATIVE VOTE IN ORDER TO LEAVE UCD'S OPTIONS
OPEN UNTIL THE BALLOTS WERE COUNTED. HAVING FAILED
TO REACH A PRE-ELECTION UNDERSTANDING, CD'S STRATEGY
THEN TURNED TO SECURING A UCD-CD COALITION AFTER
MARCH 1 THROUGH THE COMPATIBILITY OF THEIR PROGRAMS
AND HOPED FOR STRENGTH OF CD'S ELECTORAL SHOWING.

10. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE, CD KNOWS IT
MUST RUN A SUFFICIENTLY AGGRESSIVE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN
TO SECURE A LEVERAGE-PRODUCING NUMBER OF SEATS (AT
LEAST 25, CD LEADERS HOPE, AND PERHAPS AS MANY AS
35-40), WHILE AT THE SAME TIME NOT BURNING ANY
BRIDGES TO THE GOVERNING PARTY. IN SPITE OF
FRAGA'S FREQUENT ATTACKS ON THE GOVT DURING THE
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CONSTITUENT PERIOD, HIS CRITICISMS DERIVED MORE FROM
DIFFERENCES OVER METHOD AND TACTICS AND FROM FRAGA'S
EXTREME FRUSTRATION WITH HIS MINOR POLITICAL ROLE THAN
THEY DID FROM ANY FUNDAMENTAL PROGRAMMATIC DISAGREEMENT.
OVERALL, CD'S ELECTORAL PROGRAM REFLECTS A SIMILARITY
OF VIEWS. ALTHOUGH MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN UCD'S, THE
DIFFERENCES ARE PRINCIPALLY IN EMPHASIS. IT EVEN

SEEMS TO FINESSE THE ONE ISSUE WHERE THERE MAY INDEED BE UNBRIDGEABLE DIFFERENCES--REGIONAL AUTONOMY, AND IT THEREFORE PRESENTS NO INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES TO A UCD-CD COALITION. (CD'S PROGRAM WILL BE REPORTED ON SEPARATELY IN DETAIL.) CD'S CAMPAIGN, WHOSE CENTRAL THEMES WILL BE "PROGRESS, SECURITY, FIRMNESS AND MODERATION", WILL THEN CONSIST LARGELY OF THE ASSERTION THAT IT WOULD DO BASICALLY WHAT UCD IS DOING, ONLY MORE EFFECTIVELY, AND THAT UCD DESPERATELY NEEDS CD'S HELP IF THE COUNTRY IS TO OVERCOME THE MANY PROBLEMS IT CONFRONTS, PARTICULARLY TERRORISM/COMMON CRIME AND ECONOMIC DISLOCATION.

11. KEEPING LINES OPEN TO UCD, HOWEVER, IS AS MUCH A QUESTION OF STYLE AS IT IS OF SUBSTANCE. WHILE AREILZA'S AND OSORIO'S POLITICAL STYLES ARE BASICALLY CONCILIATORY, AND CONSEQUENTLY ARE NATURALLY COMPATIBLE WITH CD'S COALITION-SEEKING APPROACH, FRAGA IS EASILY THE MOST VOLATILE AND CONTROVERSIAL POLITICAL LEADER IN SPAIN. IN SPITE OF HIS MANY DEMONSTRATED VIRTUES -- MOST NOTABLY HIS INTELLECTUAL BRILLIANCE-- FRAGA'S PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH SUAREZ ARE NOTORIOUSLY BAD AND HE CONTINUES TO BE CONSIDERED AN OGRE BY THE POLITICAL LEFT. BY HIMSELF HE CAN UNDERMINE THE BRIDGE-BUILDING EFFORTS OF HIS FELLOW CD LEADERS AND REDUCE CD'S ELECTORAL APPEAL

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RESTRAINT THAN HE HAS IN THE PAST, AND THE PCE,
FOR ONE, ALREADY HAS MADE IT CLEAR (MADRID 1295)
THAT IT FULLY INTENDS TO TEST HIM. AS A RESULT
THE OTHER CD LEADERS WILL ATTEMPT TO MINIMIZE
FRAGA'S EXPOSURE -- AND THEREFORE VULNERABILITY --
TO HECKLERS AND HOSTILE MEMBERS OF THE PRESS.
IN FACT, WE ALREADY HAVE SEEN THE FIRST INSTALL-
MENT OF THIS EFFORT: FRAGA WAS SIGNIFICANTLY
ABSENT FROM CD'S PRESENTATION OF ITS LISTS TO
THE PRESS; ONLY AREILZA APPEARED AND VERBALLY
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UNDERLINED THE NON-CONFRONTATIONAL, FORWARD-
LOOKING NATURE OF CD'S CAMPAIGN EFFORT (WE WILL
"OFFER SOLUTIONS, NOT ATTACK PERSONS"). THIS WAS
A FAR CRY INDEED FROM THE SELF-DEFEATING, COMBATIVE
AP APPROACH OF 1977.

12. IN ADDITION TO IMPRESSING ON SUAREZ AND UCD
THAT THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GOVERN COHERENTLY
AND FIRMLY WITHOUT THEM, HOWEVER, CD MUST SIMILARLY
CONVINCE ENOUGH OF THE ELECTORATE TO REINFORCE
"PROGRAMMATIC LOGIC" WITH THE POWER OF PARLIAMENTARY
NUMBERS. THE COMPLEMENT TO CD'S NUANCED CAMPAIGN
EFFORT WILL HAVE TO BE A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT
ON AP'S TOTAL OF 1.5 MILLION VOTES (8.3 PERCENT)
AND 16 DEPUTIES (3 IN MADRID AND 1 EACH IN ASTURIAS,
TOLEDO, LOGRONO, SANTANDER, BARCELONA, LA CORUNA,
LUGO, ORENSE, PONTEVEDRA, LEON, ZAMORA, VALENCIA
AND VIZCAYA). CD HOPES ITS HIGH ROAD APPROACH TO
THE CAMPAIGN, COMBINED WITH THE ELECTORAL COST IT
ASSUMES UCD WILL HAVE TO PAY FOR HAVING GOVERNED
DURING A DIFFICULT PERIOD, WILL GO FAR TO INCREASE
ITS CONGRESS REPRESENTATION TO AT LEAST 25. THESE
HOPES RECEIVED AN UNEXPECTED BOOST WHEN AP APOSTATES
SILVA MUNOZ AND FERNANDEZ DE LA MORA ANNOUNCED
THEY HAD BEEN UNABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE
ULTRA-RIGHT AFTER ALL, AND WOULD NOT RUN IN THE
ELECTION IN ORDER "NOT TO FURTHER DIVIDE THE RIGHT."
THIS PERMITS CD TO TAKE AIM AT UCD WITHOUT WORRYING

ABOUT BEING OUTFLANKED ON THE RIGHT BY ANYONE BUT
BLAS PINAR AND HIS FASCIST COHORTS.

13. THE CD LEADERSHIP HAS ALSO FULLY REALIZED
THAT THE NECESSARY REVAMPED PROGRAM AND CAMPAIGN
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APPROACH HAD TO BE BUTTRESSED BY EQUALLY
RENOVATED ELECTORAL LISTS, AND ALTHOUGH SOME AP
DEPUTIES ARE REPEATING AS LIST-HEADERS, CD'S SLATES
BEAR LITTLE RESEMBLANCE TO AP'S 1977 BALLOTS. IN
THE SHORT SPACE OF TIME AND WITH THE RELATIVELY
LIMITED HUMAN RESOURCES AVAILABLE, CD APPEARS TO
HAVE DONE A GOOD JOB OF RECRUITING RESPECTED CON-
SERVATIVES, MANY OF WHOM COULD ALMOST AS EASILY
HAVE BEEN UCD CANDIDATES AND WHO MAY WELL BE ABLE
TO MOUNT AN EFFECTIVE CHALLENGE TO THE GOVERNING
PARTY IN A NUMBER OF PROVINCES (MADRID 1118).
IN ADDITION TO AREILZA, FRAGA AND OSORIO IN MADRID,
THEY INCLUDE FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF GOVT
FERNANDO SUAREZ (LEON), ARMY GENERAL (ON LEAVE OF
ABSENCE) MANUEL PRIETO (GRANADA), LONG-TIME
OPPOSITIONIST ANTONIO SENILLOSA (BARCELONA), BASQUE
INDUSTRIALIST LUIS OLARRA (VIZCAYA), AND FORMER
UCD PARLIAMENTARIANS PEDRO MORALES (ALAVA) AND JESUS
AIZPUN (NAVARRRE). THESE "NEW" FACES HAVE FURTHER
CONTRIBUTED TO CD CONFIDENCE THAT IT HAS A GOOD
SHOT AT AN ADDITIONAL SEAT IN SOME SCATTERED
PROVINCES WHERE IT ALREADY HAS ONE DEPUTY, AND A
FIRST SEAT IN OTHERS WHERE AP CAME CLOSE IN 1977 BUT
DID NOT QUITE GARNER SUFFICIENT VOTES TO ELECT A
DEPUTY. AP VICE PRESIDENT CARLOS ARGOS TOLD EMBOFF
JANUARY 25 THEY WERE PARTICULARLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT
THEIR CHANCES FOR A BREAKTHROUGH IN GALICIA AND IN
PROVINCES SUCH AS MADRID, ALICANTE, CADIZ, GRANADA,
SEVILLE, ZARAGOZA, NAVARRRE AND EVEN GUIPUZCOA.

14. AS A RESULT OF THE COMPLETE FACELIFT THE CD
LEADERS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN GIVING AP, IT ALREADY
APPEARS THAT THE CONSERVATIVE COALITION WILL MOUNT
A MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE CHALLENGE TO UCD THAN DID FRAGA

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IN 1977. BUT THE SUCCESS OF THE OPERATION IS BY
NO MEANS GUARANTEED. UNCERTAINTIES ABOUND AT THIS
JUNCTURE. MUCH WILL DEPEND ON HOW THE CAMPAIGN
UNFOLDS AND ON THE ERRORS THE PARTIES COMMIT OR
AVOID UNTIL MARCH 1, NOT TO MENTION CIRCUMSTANCES
BEYOND THEIR CONTROL, LIKE TERRORISM. IN CD'S CASE
THE OUTCOME WILL ALSO HINGE ON HOW WELL AREILZA,
FRAGA AND OSORIO, NOW BROUGHT TOGETHER BY
POLITICAL NECESSITY BUT NOT ALWAYS ON THE BEST OF
TERMS, WORK TOGETHER. ALTHOUGH THERE IS MORE PUSHING
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THEM TOGETHER THAN PULLING THEM APART UNTIL
MARCH 1, MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE CD WILL SHATTER
SOONER OR LATER ON THE STRONG PERSONALITIES AND
COMPETING AMBITIONS OF ITS THREE PRINCIPAL LEADERS.

15. EVEN SO, CD DOES INDEED HAVE A SHOT AT A FIRST
OR ADDITIONAL SEAT IN
A NUMBER OF PROVINCES, BUT ONE OR MORE OTHER
PARTIES ARE ALSO IN THE RUNNING IN ALMOST EVERY

CASE, AND RELATIVELY FEW VOTES CAN THROW THE
OUTCOME ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. MOREOVER, CD
HAS ITS SHARE OF "VULNERABLE" SEATS, AND IN MANY
CASES IT WILL DO WELL JUST TO HOLD ON TO WHAT
IT HAS. CD BELIEVES IT SENSES THE NON-MARXIST
ELECTORATE TILTING RIGHTWARD, AND HOPES IT CAN
CAPITALIZE ON A COMBINATION OF UCD-DEBILITATING
ABSTENTIONS, AND EXPRESSIONS OF CONSERVATIVE
DISENCHANTMENT WITH THE GOVERNING PARTY TO CON-
SOLIDATE ITS 1977 HOLDINGS AND EDGE OUT OTHER
COMPETITORS FOR ITS SHARE OF THE APPROXIMATELY 70
CONGRESS SEATS THAT ARE MOST SUSCEPTIBLE TO CHANGING
HANDS. BUT IT WILL HAVE TO OVERCOME THE ALLEGATION
THAT CD, IN SPITE OF THE FACELIFT, IS SIMPLY THE
SON OF AP AND A VESTIGE OF FRANCO. SIM INCAPABLE
OF CONTRIBUTING TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF SPANISH
DEMOCRACY. AND IN THE LAST ANALYSIS THE OUTCOME
OF THE CD CAMPAIGN WILL PROBABLY HINGE ON A QUESTION
WHICH IS AT LEAST AS VISCERAL AS IT IS POLITICAL:
HOW MANY MODERATE SPANIARDS HAVE CHANGED THEIR
MINDS ABOUT FRAGA DURING THE PAST 18 MONTHS, AND
NOW CONSIDER HIM PART OF THE SOLUTION RATHER
THAN PART OF THE PROBLEM. TODMAN

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Message Attributes

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Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D790045-0789
Format: TEL
From: MADRID OR-P
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1979/newtext/t1979019/aaaaagve.tel
Line Count: 570
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: f8c805ec-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 11
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 MADRID 5141
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 aug 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3926615
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE SPANISH ELECTIONS: ACTORS AND ISSUES; CD FORESEES GAINS, HOPES FOR COALITION WITH UCD
TAGS: PINT, SP
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f8c805ec-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014